

Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT NICOSIA 3984 ACTION SECSTATE INFO AMKARA
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S E C R E T NICOSIA 3984

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TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, UNGA, UNSC

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH DENKTASH

1. SUMMARY. DENKTASH FORESEES TROUBLE OVER UNSC DEBATE OF UNIFCYP RENEWAL. TURKEY WILL NOT ACCEPT TRADITIONAL PREAMBULAR REFERENCE TO GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. AMBASSADOR URGED TURKS IMPROVE IMAGE BY GRANTING GREATER FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT TO UNFICYP. DENKTASH REGRETS CANCELLATION OF SECRETARY'S ANKARA VISIT. CONTINUES TO BE FUNDAMENTALLY CONCERNED OVER MAKARIOS' RETURN. TURKS WILL NOT CONTINUE TO TALK UNLESS CLERIDES' ROLE AND BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION (BIZONAL FEDERATION) ARE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR. DENKTASH ANXIOUS CO-OPERATE WITH CLERIDES IN RESOLVING REMAINING HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. NICOSIA PORT REOPENING DISCUSSED. END SUMMARY.

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2. TOUR D'HORIZON WITH DENKTASH NOVEMBER 11 COVERED FOLLOWING:

3. UNGA AND UNSC. DENKTASH WAS GENERALLY PLEASED WITH RESULTS OF UNGA DEBATE ON CYPRUS. HE WAS GRATIFIED AT PERFORMANCE OF TURKISH CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES, SAYING THAT IN VEDAT CHELIK HE HAD AT LAST FOUND SOMEONE ON WHOM HE COULD RELY TO STATE TT TURKISH CYPRIOT CASE PERSUASIVELY WITHOUT HIS ALWAYS HAVING TO DO IT HIMSELF. RESOLUTION 3213 WAS GOOD IN TERMS OF OPERATIVE PARA 4 PLACING TWO COMMUNITIES ON AN EQUAL FOOTING AND IN ITS SUPPORT FOR THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION. HE HAD RESERVED HIS POSITION ON PARAS TWO AND FIVE (WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN ARMED FORCES AND RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES). THERE WOULD BE TROUBLE, HOWEVER, OVER DECEMBER SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF RENEWING UNFICYP MANDATE. TRADITIONAL PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE THAT "GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS HAS AGREED...IT NECESSARY TO CONTINUE" UNFICYP, WOULD NO LONGER DO. GOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD NOT SLIP BACK FROM UNGA GAIN (TWO COMMUNITIES ON AN EQUAL BASIS). HE CONSIDERING SUBSTITUTING "THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS" FOR TRADITIONAL PREAMBULAR LANGUAGE. MAKARIOS AND KYPRIANOU COULD ALSO BE COUNTED UPON TO BE TROUBLESOME. LATTER WAS UNDERSTOOD TO BE MANEUVERING FOR INCLUSION OF WOLD AND WHOLLY UNACCEPTABLE ELEMENTS IN EVENTUAL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION, AIMED INTER ALIA AT BRINGING SOVIETS MORE INTO THE PICTURE. PRC AMONG OTHER, HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE AN INTEREST IN BLOCKING LATTER MOVE. PARENTHETICALLY, DENKTASH REMARKED THAT IN CONVERSATION WITH HIM FEW DAYS AGO CHINESE AMBASSADOR HAD FULMINATED AGAINST RUSSIA'S ATTEMPTED INVOLVEMENT IN CYPRUS PROBLEM. CHRISTOPHIDES SAID AMBASSADOR HAD DESCRIBED RUSSIANS AS BEHAVING LIKE ANTS IN A FRYING PAN, SAYING INTERESTINGLY THAT SOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM SHOULD BE LEFT TO TWO COMMUNITIES AND OTHER "MOST PARTICULARLY CONCERNED", I. E. GREECE AND TURKEY. PRC AMBASSADOR HAD EXPLAINED, THAT LATTER CATEGORY SHOULD NOT INCLUDE US, IN PEKING'S VIEW.

4. UNFICYP FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF DENKTASH'S REFERENCE TO UNFICYP RENEWAL, I SAID TURKS PLACING THEMSELVES IN A VERY BAD LIGHT INTERNATIONALLY BY DENYING UNFICYP FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IN TURKISH ZONE.

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IF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WERE TO CONTINUE PAYING FOR A PEACEKEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS, IT WOULD EXPECT THAT FORCE BE GIVEN EQUAL TREATMENT BY BOTH SIDES. DENKTASH REPLIED HE AWARE OF THE PROBLEM. IT UNLIKELY BE RESOLVED SOON. TURKISH MILITARY HAD RECENTLY AGREED TO A ROLE FOR UNFICYP IN DELIVERING OF RELIEF COMMODITIES IN NORTH AND THIS WAS A STEP IN RIGHT DIRECTION. UNFICYP COULD ALSO USEFULLY OCCUPY ITSELF WITH CREATION OF A NEUTRAL ZONE ALONG

NICOSIA GREEN LINE.

5. CANCELLATION OF SECRETARY'S ANKARA VISIT. DENKTASH EXPRESSED PERSONAL REGRET OVER ENFORCED CANCELLATION OF SECRETARY'S ANKARA VISIT. HE HAD PARTICIPATED IN SEVERAL OF THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS IN ANKARA. HE HAD WELCOMED WHATEVER COULD BE DONE TO FURTHER HIS NEGOTIATION WITH CLERIDES BUT HAD BEEN APPREHENSIVE THAT PROCESS OF MAKING CONCESSIONS MIGHT DEVELOP A MOMENTUM THAT COULD NOT BE TURNED OFF IF THE SITUATION CHANGED (MAKARIOS RETURNED). ANKARA HAD ASSURED HIM HE NEED NOT WORRY ON THIS SCORE.

6. IN ANSWER TO MY REQUEST FOR HIS PERSONAL VIEWS ON REASONS FOR GOT'S DECISION REQUEST CANCELLATION OF SECRETARY'S VISIT AT ELEVENTH HOUR, WITH ALL ATTENDANT ADVERSE EFFECTS, DENKTASH SAID TI BOILED DOWN TO ERBAKAN'S THREAT TO RUIN ECEVIT POLITICALLY IF HE TRIED TO GIVE AWAY TURKEY'S VICTORIES. DENKTASH COMMENTED THAT THE ROOT PROBLEM, AS HE HAD FOUND DURING HIS STAYS IN ANKARA WAS THAT ECEVIT IS ONE OF THE FEW TURKISH LEADERS WILLING TO ADMIT THAT THERE IS ANY CYPRUS PROBLEM LEFT TO BE SOLVED. FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN TURKEY, IT HAS BEEN.

7. RETURN OF MAKARIOS. DENKTASH ASKED IF I THOUGHT THAT MAKARIOS WERE COMING BACK AND I SAID YES, ALTHOUGH HE COULD CONCEIVABLY STILL INFLUENCED ON TIMING. ARCHBISHOP HAD NOW PRETTY WELL COMMITTED HIMSELF TO LATE NOVEMBER OR EARLY DECEMBER AND COULD NOT AGAIN POSTPONE SIGNIFICANTLY WITHOUT LOSING CREDIBILITY. IN A VARIETY OF WAYS (REQUEST FOR MEETING WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER AND NEW GUIDANCE TO HIS KEY LIEUTENANTS IN CYPRUS) HE SEEMED TO BE PREPARING THE GROUND FOR RETURN AND RESUMPTION OF FULL POLICY AND OPERATIONAL CONTROL. IN MY PERSONAL VIEW, ONLY A KARAMANLIS
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RETURNED TO OFFICE BY STRONG POPULAR MANDATE COULD INFLUENCE HIM. IN THIS REGARD, FORECAST KARAMANLIS-MAKARIOS-CLERIDES MEETINGS IN ATHENS FOLLOWING GREEK ELECTIONS WERE ALL-IMPORTANT. CLERIDES COULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE FOR GREEK CYPRIOTS ONLY IF THERE WERE FIRM TRILATERAL UNDERSTANDING ON ROLES AND OBJECTIVES.

8. DENKTASH COMMENTED THAT CLERIDES' NOVEMBER "ARGO" SPEECH (AS IT HAS COME TO BE CALLED FROM THE PLACE WHERE IT WAS DELIVERED - NICOSIA 3940 AND 3959) COULD BE CONSTRUED AS REFLECTION OF BELIEF ON CLERIDES' PART THAT HE HAD ALREADY LOST TO MAKARIOS AND WOULD HAVE TO RESIGN. THIS MIGHT HAVE LED HIM TO WANT TO PUT ON RECORD A STATEMENT WHICH IN THE LIGHT OF SUBSEQUENT HISTORY WOULD VINDICATE HIS REALISM. I REPLIED THAT I DID NOT NECESSARILY AGREE. TO ME, CLERIDES SEEMED TO BE

MARSHALLING EVERY RESOURCE AT HIS COMMENT IN PREPARATION FOR ATHENS MEETINGS WHERE, WITH HOPED-FOR SUPPORT FROM KARAMANLIS, HE WANTED A RESULT THAT WOULD ENABLE HIM HONORABLY TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE. IF CLERIDES GOT THE SORT OF RESULT FOR WHICH HE WAS WORKING, I HOPED TURKEY AND DENKTASH WOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY EVEN IF MAKARIOS WERE BACK. DENKTASH SAID HIS SIDE WOULD HAVE TO LOOK VERY CLOSELY AT WHATEVER CAME OUT OF ATHENS BEFORE DECIDING. ONE THING WAS CERTAIN: NEGOTIATIONS WOULD NOT CONTINUE IN A SITUATION WHERE CLERIDES WAS TALKING AGAINST A BACKDROP OF MEDDLING BY MAKARIOS. TURKS COULD BE MAGNAMIMOUS AND A FAIR SOLUTION QUICKLY REACHED IF CLERIDES REPRESENTED THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND WAS HIS OWN MAN.

9. FURTHER PROGRESS IN LOCAL TALKS. NOTING THAT UNTIL AFTER GREEK ELECTIONS, ATHENS MEETINGS, AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT IN ANKARA, IT MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MORE THAN MARK TIME ON ISSUES OF LARGER SUBSTANCE, I SAID I HOPED CLERIDES AND DENKTASH COULD USE THE INTERVENING PERIOD TO CLEAN UP AS MANY REMAINING HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS AS COULD BE. DENKTASH SAID HE HAD EVERY INTEREST IN COOPERATING. AT TODAY'S MEETING WITH CLERIDES AND WECKMANN HE WOULD MAKE GOOD ON HIS LAST WEEK'S PROMISE TO RELEASE GREEK CYPRIOTS DETAINED IN VILLAGES OF VONI AND GYPSOS. HE THOUGH POPULATION TRANSFER ASPECT OF THIS MIGHT BE TROUBLESOME FOR CLERIDES, BUT LATTER HAD ASSURED HIM HE PREPARED TO HANDLE THIS GIVEN IMPORTANCE OF GETTING THESE VILLAGERS OUT OF THEIR PRESENT SITUATION OF CONFINEMENT --
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WHICH DENKTASH ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE INHUMANE.

10. NICOSIA AIRPORT REOPENING. I REFERRED TO IMPORTANCE OF RE-OPENING NICOSIA AIRPORT BECAUSE OF SYMBOLIC AND REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NORMAL AIR CONTACT WITH OUTSIDE WORLD. DENKTASH REMINDED ME THAT GOT HAD SPECIFIED THIS WAS A MATTER IN WHICH DECISIONS COULD ONLY BE MADE IN ANKARA. GOT'S POSITION REMAINED: "THREE RESPONSIBLE FOR PERIMETER SECURITY, TWO FOR MANAGEMENT". (COMMENT: TIME WAS TOO SHORT TO ASK, BUT I TOOK THIS TO MEAN GOT INSISTENCE THAT GREECE, TURKEY AND ONE OTHER FORCE, UN OR PREFERABLY UK, TO SHARE IN PERIMETER DEFENSE, GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATIONS TO HAVE EQUAL STATUS IN OPERATIONAL MANAGEMENT, BUT WOULD WELCOME ANY CLARIFICATION AVAILABLE THROUGH EMBASSY ANKARA. END COMMENT.) I REPLIED THAT SOUNDEST CONCEPT I COULD SEE ON THE HORIZON WOULD ENTAIL RE-OPENING ON AN INTERIM BASIS THAT WOULD NOT PREJUDICE POSITIONS OF PRINCIPLE, UNDER UN/ICAO AUSPICES, WITH SUPPORT FOR A JOINT GREEK CYPRIOT-TURKISH CYPRIOT BOARD. DENKTASH ASKED ABOUT PERIMETER DEFENSE UNDER SUCH AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT. I MADE PERSONAL SUGGESTION THAT UN AND TURKISH FORCES SHOULD STAY IN PLACE FOR TIME BEING. DENKTASH SAID THIS COULD BE CONSIDERED.
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